

SOVIET THREATS IN THE NON-MILITARY FIELDS

In the early days of the Bolshevik Revolution the inevitability of armed conflict between communism and capitalism was stressed in the writings of Lenin and his followers. That was in the pre-atomic age, in fact, well prior to World War II which taught the devastation wrought by aircraft and modern conventional weapons.

While this threat ^{of war} may well remain ^{only} in the background of Soviet thinking, recently far more stress has been upon the use of other means of promoting communist ends and to use for that purpose a period of "co-existence" during which also they could build up as the Soviet hoped to military parity or beyond.

Obviously they wished to have their military capability as a kind of sword of Damocles to use if necessary but meanwhile to act not only as a potent deterrent but as an ever-present instrument of

hard persuasion to promote their other programs for advancing their ends. These programs are, first, subversion, and secondly, economic penetration directed toward bringing states eventually into or close to the communist orbit of power.

their ballistic missile development
While the Sputnik serves as a dramatic warning in the military

field and furnishes us with a specific target and objective which the resources of science, talent, and funds should be able to reach, these other Soviet techniques are more subtle, more difficult to analyze and counter. The loss of China to Communism by a combination of military and subversive techniques and the almost concurrent threat to Western Europe followed by the takeover of Czechoslovakia and the severe threats to both Italian and French internal security, served as clear warnings and gave impetus to the carrying out of the Marshall Plan and an economic answer to certain of the dangers of Communist penetration.

But as this danger has receded in Western Europe, we still face it in other parts of the world and even in parts of this hemisphere.

If we should ignore the warning signs in this field and go missile-mad to the exclusion of adequate defense against other dangers, the Sputnik can become a kind of Trojan horse. If we solely look at missiles in the sky and fail to counter Soviet economic penetration and subversion we might win the military race and yet lose great areas of the world that are vital to our own national security.

The international communist apparatus with its communist parties and cells which exist in most countries of the world and these together with their front organizations such as the World Peace Movement, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the Youth conferences and Afro-Asian congresses give them a closely orchestrated instrument for the advancement of their programs. Except when we have a coup

like that in Czechoslovakia there is nothing Sputnik-like or dramatic in such a program. They work in and through the parliaments of many countries of the world and try to use the democratic processes in order to defeat the basic aims of a free form of government. They had a part in writing many of the constitutions in the free world ~~in the~~ post-war days and did so with the very objective of putting strong authority nowhere and helping to produce chaos everywhere. The divided countries of Germany, Korea, Viet Nam and until recently Austria and Laos are other examples of their techniques. But developments here may boomerang as the free peoples in the divided areas are more and more furnishing a study in contrast between what a people working in freedom can do as contrasted with people under the domination of Moscow or Peiping.

But this contest for the minds and allegiance of peoples is still engaged. We cannot for a minute afford to neglect it. It adds a basic

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element in the Soviet challenge and the progress that the Soviet have made in the scientific and technological field is used as a powerful argument in their appeal to the uncommitted areas. Well before Sputnik the peoples in these areas were deeply impressed by the fact that the USSR in less than four decades had come from being a backward country into the position of the second greatest power in the world and a leader in the scientific field. Certainly we should try to find more effective ways of bringing home to these people what has actually transpired in the areas that have been subject to Soviet colonialism and have been the unwilling beneficiaries of Soviet exploitation and domination. Hungary and the European Satellites, the reports from Northern Viet Nam show the great contrast between the communist and the free areas of that country, and even from the areas in Laos there are most significant reports of the failure of the communists to maintain anything like the standards of living and of happiness, low though it be, of free areas of

Unfortunately, distance lends enchantment and we can hardly expect the people of Java, to take only one instance, to understand and analyse the dangers which communism means for them.

Meanwhile in the Middle East, Africa and in South and Southeast Asia, the Soviet programs of arms and economic aid have helped to fan the flames of nationalism and anti-colonialism. While the total of communist aid, economic and military, does not approach ours they have concentrated on certain countries where they feel they can make the most ~~impace~~ impact, particularly Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, India, Iceland, Nepal, Yemen and Yugoslavia. In these countries over the last three fiscal years through 1957 the aid program of the USSR and China was slightly greater than our own. It is not easy to make firm comparisons as much of their aid is of the barter type or consists of obsolescent arms to which it is hard to give a dollar value. The overall impact, however, is greater than the actual or intrinsic value of the aid rendered.

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Here Soviet educational programs are having a deep effect, both

as a reservoir for sending technicians abroad and by luring to Moscow and Soviet and Satellite institutions far greater numbers of native students for training particularly in the scientific fields. (Here give some comparative figures.) If the Soviet scientific educational program continues for long at its present pace, they will have a large reservoir of scientists for export whereas there is little likelihood that we will find here or in other countries of the Free World any comparable numbers who are willing on their own free initiative to journey to the four corners of the world to help build up the indigenous capabilities of the new countries which have recently found their freedom.

In any study of our own human resources to meet the scientific challenge it is well to remember that this cannot be done solely on the drawing boards of our own scientific institutions. It will also have to be done in the steel mills of India, the dams of the great rivers of the Middle East and Asia, etc., etc.

As we prepare to meet the Soviet challenge we must look at it not only from the short-range viewpoint, but in perspective, and as we lay our plans for providing the scientists of the future this is particularly important. Assuming that a state of preparedness on our part that will continue to deter the Soviets from deliberately launching a war of aggression, and I accept this as a reasonable assumption, we will nevertheless face critical problems, unless present trends can be reversed. The Soviet, in less than twenty years from now, assuming that their economy continues to grow ^{rapidly} will have substantially narrowed the relative gap between our own production and theirs, -- will have reached a steel production of our own today and made comparable advances in other fields. Even assuming that the ~~share of the~~ Russian consumers' ^{share} total national production remains much lower than our own, it will still be adequate to provide sustained, but modest dividends of satisfaction to its own people and yet if they are so minded, permit ever-increasing amounts to be added to their military establishment. To this the only

answer would be for us likewise to continue comparable programs. To the extent that the Soviet people are willing, with Spartan determination, or with unquestioning obedience to arbitrary authority to follow such a policy, they can make the going harder and harder for us. Undoubtedly, no small segment of their future, as in their past effort, will go into fields of science. A distinguished Indian editor who visited successively the USSR and the United States, put this question repeatedly to the people with whom he talked, "What is the purpose of your system of your society?" As well can be imagined, he received a multiplicity of answers from Americans, but in one form or another, they had to do with the improvement of the lot of the individual, man and woman. In the Soviet Union, he received one universal response from people of low and high degree, "The purpose of our system is the advancement of science."

For many years I have felt that the greatest hope for the future in our relations with the Soviet Union lay in the advancement of education in the Soviet Union. Education was essential to permit competition in the

power struggle in which the Soviet Union had engaged itself. It is viewed as one of the important means of bringing the Soviets up to the standard of the United States and as the Soviets have boasted, even beyond it. But, by and large, its benefits have been largely directed toward the military sector ~~and~~ of Soviet life. Great scientists are great thinkers and thought has no such narrow limitations. It would seem incredible if the horizon of Soviet scientists were not greatly widened over the years and devoted more directly to meeting the needs of the Soviet people for a more satisfying form of life.

While we must be ready for those forms of sacrifices which are necessary to meet the scientific challenge of the Soviet Union, we must also seize those opportunities to turn their science into more fruitful science under a form of free society which in turn gives to science its greatest opportunity.

It is well, as we look to the future, to turn to the importance of education as the key to the solution of problems which otherwise would

seem insoluble in this 150th Anniversary of the birth of General Robert E. Lee.

It is interesting to note a passage in the book by a German Major of the Royal Prussian Engineers who was in the United States as a military observer in the Civil War, who was commenting on the fact that Lee's philosophy in his role as commander was to trust his division and brigade commanders to get his forces in the right place at the right time, and then leave their fate in the hands of God. As an instance of this he writes the following. "During the battle of Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863, at the height of the combat, I stood beside the General under pretty heavy fire and an interesting episode of the battle was taking place before us. In spite of the great excitement in which the progress of the battle kept the great leader, he spoke to me, to my great astonishment, about the future education of the people."